

THE TONGA ISLANDS.

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Hereditary.	<i>Toofuunga fo vāca</i> ; canoe-builders.	Followed both by <i>matabooles</i> and <i>mooas</i> .	555
	<i>Toofuunga funo le</i> ; cutters of whale-teeth ornaments.		461
	<i>Toofuunga taboo</i> ; superintendants of funeral rites.		565
	<i>Toofuunga ta maca</i> ; stone-masons, or makers of stone vaults.		396
	<i>Toofuunga jia cubenga</i> ; net-makers.		306
Hereditary.	<i>Toofuunga toty ica</i> ; fishermen.	Followed both by <i>mooas</i> and <i>tooas</i> .	767
	<i>Toofuunga langafalle</i> ; large house-builders.		324
	<i>Toofuunga ta tattoo</i> ; those who perform the tattoo.		286
Hereditary or not.	<i>Toofuunga tongi acow</i> ; club-carvers.		226
	<i>Toofuunga fy cara</i> ; barbers or shavers with shells.		331
Hereditary.	<i>Tangata fe oomoo</i> ; cooks.	Followed only by <i>tooas</i> .	305
	<i>Kyfonnuoa</i> ; peasants.		322
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Property in these islands, as may easily be conjectured, consists principally in plantations, houses, and canoes, and the right of succession to it is regulated by the order of relationship, as given under the head of Nobles, p. 83, so in like manner is the right of succession to the throne.

Having now given a view of the rank of individuals in society, with reference to religion, civil government, and professional occupations; we have now to consider it in respect to old age, sex, and childhood.

Old persons of both sexes are highly revere-~~808~~

322 or even a flattened nail, to which a handle is
 531 affixed. They only ornament those clubs which
 [412] are considered good on account of their form,
 [552] or the quality of the wood, or those which have
 done much execution: to the latter it used to
 be the custom to give a proper name. Those
 that make these ornaments are chiefly canoe-
 builders.

761 TOOFOONGA TA'BOO, superintendants of fu-
 565 neral rites: these, as the name indicates, have
 the regulation of every thing regarding burials
 of principal chiefs: they are generally mata-
 booles, and are always consulted respecting the
 preparations and forms of ceremony necessary
 on such occasions, and which are handed down
 by them from father to son.

324 TOOFOONGA TA MA'CCA, or makers of stone
 764 vaults for the burial of chiefs. The general
 form of these vaults has been already described,
 (Vol. I. p. 144.) The stones used for this pur-
 pose are about a foot in thickness, and are cut
 of the requisite dimensions, out of the stratum
 found on the beaches of some of the islands.

286 JIA COBE'NGA, net-making. This art is per-
 formed exactly in the same way as with us:
 the thread is made of the inner bark of a tree,
 which they call *olongá*: large nets, however,
 are made of plait, formed from the husk of the
 cocoa-nut.

226 TOOFOONGA TOTY'ICA, fishermen. All those

539 over the branch of a tree so that the mat forms a loop hanging down to a
386 convenient height. A pole is put through the loop, and manned (or
"womanned") by several people who turn the pole round, thus twisting
the strainer up tight and expressing the pigment which runs into a recep-
[46] tacle placed to catch it. This mat in the course of twisting is subjected
[62] to a great strain but is hard to break. The expression is used of a lazy
person who, although he is the subject of many admonitions and rebukes,
is yet very hard to shift.

539 129. Maamaa a hiki papa: Shifting the tapa board is light.

287 The *papa* is the long hollow board, or rather wooden structure, used
426 in printing designs on the native cloth. It is fairly heavy and requires two
or three people to lift it about. The idea of this expression is that one
who wants to borrow one of these printing boards for cloth making in his
own home finds no difficulty about securing the necessary help to lift it,
but when it comes to returning it to its owners there are constant difficul-
ties in the way.

539 130. Nae li ki fe hoo geeji kahi? Where did you throw your *kahi*
286 shell?
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The *kahi* shell (*Arca scapha*) is used as a scraper in the preparation
of the native cloth. This phrase is a reply to one who goes to beg cloth
from another. What did you do with the shells for making scrapers that
you have not got a stock of cloth for yourself? The expression is not con-
fined to those who beg cloth, but is extended generally to those who find
themselves in want of a commodity which they might reasonably be expected
to supply for themselves.

539 131. Tai e oko atu: The coloring matter will run on, that is,
386 the coloring matter with which one part of the cloth is stained
183 is that with which the adjoining part will also be colored.
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This expression is used as a reproof and warning to those who jeer
at the misfortunes which have come upon another. Just as the color on
one section of the cloth is repeated on the next and each part in turn
comes to be stained, so will he who today scoffs at the afflictions of another
find himself in his turn involved in the like misfortunes. It is applied
especially to the infirmities of old age. The strong man may laugh today
at the weaknesses of age, but his own turn will come.

539 132. Tuu tai: Coloring standing, that is, a thing in which is the
386 coloring matter used in staining the native cloth.

517 This phrase is not properly classed as a proverbial expression but is
always written and felt as a single word, meaning beautiful, handsome,
whether of physical feature or of conduct.

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[461] dyes will not be acquired until the time of marriage. Mat-plaiting is a somewhat tedious job, according to the testimony of village women. Many girls and young women only take on the responsibility of making household mats when there are no other older women in the group to do the job. Post-adolescent boys and girls generally learn to make sennit. Finer skills, such as net-making, may be learned at any age depending upon necessity or interest.

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463 In almost all cases the young person learns economic skills from members of his household, from close relatives, or friends. Special skills may be picked up as opportunity offers from anyone available. Thus, of the four expert net-makers in Pangai, one man learned from a friend whom he visited in another village, a second man learned from a chance visitor from another village whom he met at a Pangai kava-circle, and two further women learned subsequently from this latter Pangai man. In both cases the women seem to have acquired the skill because male relatives showed interest in net-fishing and desired nets for themselves.

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872 The necessities of formal education in the three "R's" which affect all Tongan children up to the age of fourteen years do not seem to interfere greatly with the native processes of economic education. There is a one-room school-house in Pangai with practically none of that equipment that would be considered essential in even the poorest European school. The present schoolteacher is a native of the neighbouring village of Utungake who comes to Pangai each day for the school-session. School hours are short, vacations are long. The school-work (teaching is in the vernacular) is certainly not arduous or exacting, judged in terms of demanded efficiency and prescribed standards. There are plenty of opportunities for school-children to help and work with their parents and thus to acquire the minimum techniques of earning a living from the Tongan soil. At no time did any parents complain of an interference by school-demands with today's normal functioning of Tongan culture in relation to the progressive socialization of the Pangai child. A few of the youth who graduate from the village-school may continue their education at a government or mission college in Tongatapu. These would be the youth whose parents might foresee certain advantages to be inherent

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VARIETIES OF FISH: METHODS OF TAKING THEM. 119

nation; and, most likely, the use of them was known ²²⁶ from time immemorial, although without the instructions of any such man as good Bishop Wilfrid, who, about the year of our Lord 678, first taught the peasantry of our own land, on the coast of Sussex, how to make and to use nets.

Tonguese nets are made either for throwing by ²²⁶ hand, or for deep-sea fishing. The former are of ²⁸⁶ about three fathoms in length, by one in width. The meshes are fine; and the small cordage of ⁽⁸²⁴⁾ which they are made is spun from the bark of the *fau*. (*Paritium tiliaceum* and *tricuspis*.) Those for seine or deep-sea fishing, are made of greater lengths, and are sufficiently strong to take and retain sharks and turtle, however large and powerful.

There are certain seasons of the year when an ²²⁶ excellent fish, called the *otule*, (*Scomber scomber*, of Linnæus,) resorts to the coasts in shoals. Immense quantities are then taken by hand nets. The nets are either thrown singly, or, what is more usual, by parties of three or four men. Standing at proper distances from each other, and in a somewhat crouching posture, at the edge of the water, they watch the approach of the fish. When sufficiently near, the men throw their nets, in succession, and with marvellous swiftness and precision, so that they just overlap each other, at the ends. In this manner, a circle is formed, from which the fish have few chances of escape.

In fishing with seine nets, the Tonguese are accustomed to take very heavy hauls. We have often watched the operation with deep interest. It is as follows:—A portion of the sea is selected where the depth is suitable, and where it gradually

DIAGNOSTIC IMPORTANCE OF POSTURE PATTERNS.

A puzzling image in the British Museum brings up the importance of establishing patterns of technique and general posture in the images from different regions not only to shed light on local culture-variation but for the purpose of diagnosing the locality of doubtful objects. The doubtful image which puzzled me so much that I forgot to take measurements and to photograph the back view, is shown in fig. 13. 127

The museum number indicated that the locality of the image was Tahiti, but the museum authorities could not vouch for its reliability. The textile-material of the cap was formed of coconut-husk fibre warps radiating out from a central point and fixed in position with single fibre wefts worked with a continuous single-pair twine to the circumference. The shell-beads were slipped on over the warps at regular intervals. The neck and waist-strips were made with a similar single-pair twine technique but the warps were parallel instead of radiating. Both the technique and the resulting material were characteristic of Tonga and I do not know of any other part of Polynesia where a similar specialized technique was used. The textile technique associated with the image thus indicated Tonga as a locality to be considered. The image, however, did not conform to the technique of the established Tongan images. 532
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As regards the image itself, the presence of flexed forearms with the hands resting on the body, the protruding abdomen and navel, and the straight edge across the back, indicated that it conformed to the central-Polynesian pattern and not to that of western Polynesia. The forearms by their acute flexion raised the hands to the level of the chest instead of the usual abdominal site but this slight change was but a variation of the usual pose. 532
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Of the various islands of central Polynesia, Rarotonga was eliminated by the absence of the squat form and the specialized eyes and mouth, whilst Raivavae was also eliminated by difference in general form, the lack of the specialized triangular breasts, and the absence of the triangular carving-motive as ornamentation. Between Tahiti and Aitutaki, the eye-technique favoured Tahiti but the adherence of the upper arm to the body, the acute

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[1777]
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283 Their Cordage is another considerable article which they make of the rind of the Cocoa nut. Some of this they have of a thickness of a [226] 4 or 5 inch rope, which is used in the rigging of their Canoes; fishing & other small Lines they make exceeding neat and strong from the [286] Fibres of a Plant¹ & of these Lines they make excellent fishing Nets.

285 These people excell in making baskets, of which they have 3 or four different Sorts & sizes all made of the rind of the Cocoa nut; one kind is made very strong which is that in most common use, another which is more for Shew are made exceedingly neat & beautiful with white beads & sometimes red feathers worked in them, these we esteemed as some of the greatest Curiosities among them; a third sort are constructed in an odd manner & have a very antique Appearance which made us compare them to Cathedrals²—they have other Sorts still but those above mentioned are the principal. Their other Manufactures consist of their weapons of war which have been already mentioned, their fishing Tackle of various Sorts, much like those of Otaheite, their working Tools which consists of an Adz 301 made of blue Stone, a Shark's Tooth fastened to the end of a Stick for a graving Tool, and Files and their Jewellery, such as Necklaces of 306 various Sorts, some made of small shells of various colours & prettily 297 disposed, others of the Legs of fowls, which however odd they may Sound, these people contrive to make into ornaments for their women's Necks and are no bad ones.

501 Their Canoes are of two Sorts, double & single and of a very curious construction & well finished & must cost them much Labour, they consist of several pieces of plank very ingeniously adapted to each other & sewed together on the inside of the Canoe; the single ones are in general large enough to hold six people, have an outrigger to them & are covered over with a deck at the Head and Stern under [531] which they stow the different articles they carry in them. On these decks they fasten 10 or a dozen white Shells as ornaments & at the stern there is a Support for a fishing rod which they generally carry along with them. The double or sailing Canoes are built large & strong with a Stage, on which a Hut is built. Some of them are capable of carrying 80 or 100 Men & can keep the Sea a long time [285] in these Latitudes. Their Sails are made of strong Matting & have [531] generally the Image of a Cock upon them.

534 Their musical Instruments consist of a Flute, a small instrument called by the Natives Meemeeah,³ and Drums. The Flute is made

[821] ¹ Tou, *Pipturus argenteus*; or Fau, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

² It is hard to guess what Samwell means by this—perhaps the top edge of some baskets, like an immense saw-tooth.

³ *mimika*, Pan-pipe.

[453 cont.]

175 that if we suppose a gradual diminution of the sea, at the rate
133 which they pretend to have observed in Sweden (14), the emersion of

14. See the Memoirs of the Swedish Academy of Sciences
at Stockholm.

this island must be of so modern date, that it is matter of astonish-
ment how it came to be covered with soil, herbage, and forests; so
well stocked with inhabitants, and so regularly adorned as we really

175 found it. We picked up a quantity of shells at the foot of the steep
126 rock, where we sometimes waded in water to the knees upon a reef, on

175 account of the flood tide which was advancing. We likewise met with
439 several natives returning from the trading-place, who sold us a

[286] number of fish-hooks and ornaments, a fish-net made like our casting-
nets, knit of very firm though slender threads, some [454] mats and

[292] pieces of cloth. We likewise purchased of them an apron, consisting
[531] of many wheels or stars of plaited coco-nut fibres, about three or
[286] four inches in diameter, cohering together by the projecting points,
and ornamented with small red feathers and beads cut out of shells.

175 Finding that the water encreased too fast upon us, we looked out
123 for an ascent to the top of the rock, and having with some difficulty
241 found one, we re-entered the plantations, where we observed the weeds

175 rooted out with great care and laid in heaps to dry. After a long
123 walk, during which we missed our way, and engaged one of the natives
to become our guide, we entered a long narrow lane between two fences,
which led us directly to the Fayetoooa or burying-place we had left
before. Here we found captains Cook and Furneaux, and Mr. Hodges,

[565] with a great number of natives, seated on the fine lawn. They were
in conversation with an old blear-eyed man, who had a good deal of
weight among the rest of the people, and was always accompanied

6 Bernice P. Bishop Museum—Occasional Papers IX. 9

226 Fish nets (*finaki*). A fish net is made from the leaves of the coconut palm. The roots are plaited into a round net very much like a lobster net; when ready it is sunk in the sea, weighed down by a stone or some heavy weight. The fish swim into an opening in the net.

USES OF THE COCONUT PALM

824 The coconut tree is considered by the natives to be the most useful tree in Tonga. It is indispensable in house building, and the number of articles made from its wood and leaves is remarkable. The heart of the tree is used for making walking sticks, the bark for medicine, the roots for a kind of fish net called *finaki*, the leaves for baskets, thatching houses, and making mats and flooring. The uses of the fruit are innumerable.

824 As a medicine the fruit is given to pregnant women to increase the supply of breast milk. For this the green nuts are used. A newborn child is always given *namoa*, which is made from the roasted flesh of the ripe nut. This roasted flesh is chewed by someone, usually a woman, and when taken from the mouth is rolled in a piece of *fetaaki*, squeezed, and the juice given to the child. This is his only food for four days.

824 Ripe coconuts are valuable for copra, which is the dried flesh. This is sold to European markets largely, where it is used for soap, candles, oils, and a variety of products. The shells of the coconut are burned and made into charcoal (*malala*) for ironing. Kava cups also are made from the shells.

824 No native food is considered complete without the presence of coconut in one form or another. Yams, fish, and bananas are usually cooked in the milk extracted from the flesh of the ripe coconut and strained through coconut fiber.

824 Brooms are made from the ribs of the leaf, and the leaf stem is used for stirring oil, also as weights for tapa which is spread on the ground for printing. The bark (*kaka*), which surrounds the leaves at the body of the palm, is used to make bags for wrapping arrow-root and medicines.

The several varieties of coconut palms have different uses.

VARIETIES OF COCONUT PALMS

245 KAPA. The nut is gathered when green and husked, the husk put in a native oven and left for two weeks, after which it is taken out and beaten to remove all the dust. The fiber thus obtained is plaited into mats.

98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

SATURDAY, November 12, was an important day for the members of the Tongan Women's Association, "KO E LANGA FONUA 'A E FEFINE TONGA", for it was the day of their Annual Show. Anxious glances had been cast at the sky, for the Show was to be held in the open air and the weather for some days had been uncertain. However, although the day was overcast, no rain fell and all was well.

Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., who is President of the Association and who has not missed a Show since the first one was held seven years ago, inspected the exhibits. She congratulated the women on the steady improvement in the quality of the work which had been shown throughout the years.

The Tongan handwork included mats, trays, baskets of various shapes, dress materials printed with island dyes, Tongan curtains and cushions and articles made from shells. A new section this year was that for baby baskets. Other items were soap, starch, buttons and ornaments made from Tongan materials.

The sewing section had men's coats and shirts, children's clothing, embroidered dresses, knitted articles, patchwork quilts and fancy work of various kinds. The cookery section included cakes, scones, bread, jams and jellies, cordials, puddings and various Tongan delicacies.

Evidence of the various interests which had been encouraged among the

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226 though it has by no means displaced them. Even now, for example,
177 the casting net (kuenga sili) is still, as in old times, (463)

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463. See J.J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage...
/Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 113/114;
W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p. 109;
Th. West, Ten years...

a very important piece of fishing gear, especially among the Ha'apai group. Among the ancient Tongan fishing methods, however, bonito fishing (from a boat with bamboo pole, tow-line, hook and fiber bait) (464)

464. See J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc. cit. VI.
p. 286/287; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 342/343.

has disappeared.

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(824)

A change took place, chiefly with respect to the material used for making the fishing gear. With the exception of tuki (see above under /180/ uloa), no fish net in Tonga is today knotted of indigenous material. (465)

465. Formerly, the bast of the olonga tree (Tonchaedia) in particular (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279), coconut fiber cord (Ibid.) and the bast of the fau tree (Hibiscus tiliaceus) (see Th. West, Ten years... p. 119) were used for net knotting.

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The natives use imported European twine which can be bought from shopkeepers on most of the islands. Now and then they even acquire ready-made nets in the department store of the chief towns. Most fish nets nowadays have weights made of lead instead of the traditional coral-stone sinkers; they buy the lead from merchants, heat it and pour it in the shape of a plate which they cut into small pieces that are bent into tubular shape and used as weights around the edge of the cord of the net. The natives prefer lead sinkers because they are heavier than coral stones and make handling the net easier. The float,

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/180 cont./

501 replaced the ancient Tongan catamarans (kalia). (469)

178 469. Natives of Vava'u also use the motor boats
179 belonging to Neiafu merchants in fishing
with the towline (fakatele).

226 /181/ The sandals (teka) plaited from the bast of the fau tree
292 (Hibiscus tiliaceus) are today still worn by the men (sometimes also by
178 the women) when they fish on the rough coral reefs.
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415 Fish are transported in part in the traditional fish baskets
226 ('oa) plaited of young coconut palm leaves; (470)
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177 470. These are apparently the ones Mariner refers
to in his account (J. Martin, loc. cit. I.
p. 309.)

however, they often use European bags, while the small fish--apparently
according to ancient custom--are strung on sticks stuck through their
heads.

286 According to Mariner (471)

463 471. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 96.

[178] net-knotting in ancient Tonga was a hereditary craft. Nowadays, to all
appearances, it is not, though in every village there are a few
natives (especially older ones) who are able to make fish nets. As in

[824] old times, they use a knotting shuttle (netting needle) (hika) which
[237] is carved from the wood of the tao tree (Casuarina equisetifolia L.)

or of the milo tree, or a sperm whale bone, and a measure for the
meshes (mata kupenga) cut out of tortoise shell or fau wood (Hibiscus
tiliaceus). An old razor blade serves as knife. They buy the

[465] necessary amount of twine for making the net and ask one of the
experts to knot a fish net; usually his work is acknowledged with a
small gift (for example, tobacco). Since they are thus dependent

227 on the work of a specialist and the twine also costs a certain sum of
[463] money, not every household nowadays owns nets; they lend them to each
[426] other. The situation was probably similar in ancient Tonga, through
[178] the supply of fish nets was in general probably greater.

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226 deflected into pockets made at corners where they go in and cannot come out again.

3.—NET FISHING.

If nowadays "net fishing" is not such a widespread Tongan method of catching fish anymore, then at least it must have been very popular approximately 75 to 100 years ago, as there are nets in existence made of *olonga* (*Tonchaedia*, resembling *ramie*) reputed to be over 100 years old and still in good condition. A kind of *Ficus* was [824] also used for making such nets.

(a) *Kupenga fonu* (Turtle Netting). Netting of turtles 225 is mostly carried out in the Ha'apai group where vast areas with prolific growth of seaweeds are found. Shallow water and much seaweed are known as the home of the turtles and this then is the ideal place for turtle fishing. A fisherman having located an area of seaweed between the small uninhabited islands, drops his net in a straight line at right angle to the flowing current and returns home. After two days he goes back to retrieve his net and usually finds turtles of all sizes caught in the net. In a 50 feet by 12 feet net as many as 10 turtles can be expected and often more, depending on the length and width of the net and the area where it is [286] dropped. These types of nets are usually locally made out of imported seine twine.

(b) *Pa 'Otule* is the netting of the 'otule. This is a 226 species of fish very similar to the tuna but not more than twenty-four inches long. This species moves about in schools 196 and prefers a sandy beach as a home, for instance the beach [825] of Pangai or Lifuka. In spite of the activities of the island cutters and sailing vessels, the 'otule are not scared away 226 from beaches to look for shelter elsewhere. Thus, the netting of the 'otule is perhaps the easiest of all methods of fishing. A fisherman looking for a school of 'otule has no difficulty whatsoever in locating them from ashore. He paddles his canoe closely direct to them and drops his 12 feet by 6 feet net in front of the school. He then shifts his canoe behind them and makes a big splash by either rocking his canoe or hitting the water with a long stick. The school, noticing this, dash and escapes with fright in the opposite direction and as many as forty are caught in the